5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

the hue and cry. There is a saying that a master will seek his runaway slave even if he has to go through all the nine districts of the Empire. I know one Earth Eye whose slave ran away, leaving his wife, whom he was fond of, behind. The master knew how the runaway liked his wife, and reckoned on his returning to get her away also. So he said nothing, but waited. True to these calculations, the slave returned home one night. Some traitor gave the alarm, and the runaway was captured. The next morning the Earth Eye led the slave outside of the castle to a grassy mound near by. Here the lord compelled the offender to kneel down, and with his own long sword cut his head off. This was a warning to his other slaves. There was no redress in this case, nor in any similar case. It is interesting to note that some time after another slave of this same overlord won the affections of his master's young daughter and eloped with her. The girl was recaptured but the slave escaped.

Over and above all the services rendered by the retainers which have been mentioned, the vassals have to make money payments on certain occasions which are specified, and on as many other occasions as the overlord is powerful enough to enforce. Such occasions are the marriages, deaths and burials of any members of the lord's family. The levies put on the retainers and slaves at such times are not heavy, but the fact of their having no fixed rate makes the impost a source of constant friction.

When one lord dies, and the heir succeeds to the estates, there is usually trouble all round. The trouble is caused by the custom of what is termed "changing tenancies." Every tenant or vassal has to renew his tenancy of land from the new lord. This is often made the excuse for raising of rents

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175 of the southwestern I, with whom Ssue-ma Hsiang-ju /Chinese writer of the second century B.C./ communicated in the Han period. It is probable that the Miao tribes of Hunan and Kweichow provinces originally lived in fertile plains and valleys but were later forced by the Chinese to retreat into the mountains. The Lolo of Liang-shan, however, have always occupied the entire Liang-shan region. They preferred to live on high mountains even though their cultivated fields are centered around mountain streams.

181 The Lolo are a peaceful and contented agricultural people.
512 They are singularly frugal and grave in temperament; they neither laugh nor talk easily. This is especially true of the I of Liang-shan. They work in the rice fields throughout the day, return home at nightfall, and go to sleep immediately after the evening meal. There is hardly any singing or dancing. They form a strong contrast to the nomadic, unrestrained, and pleasure-loving Tibetans.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan have been very much sinified so that their original customs and habits have almost entirely disappeared. Only those living in the northern border close to Huei-li /a hsien in Sikang/ and in a section further south, as well as those in the district of Lu-nan hsien, keep some of their former manners. Most of their original traits, however, are still retained among the I people in the Ning districts, in Lei /Lei-po/, Ma /Ma-pien/, Ô /O-pien/, P'ing P'ing-shan/ of Szechwan province, and especially in the Liang-shan
565 gion. The Lolo of these regions are divided into two distinct social classes: the "Heh-I" and the "Wa-tzu." But this distinction is not found among all the Lolo tribes in Yünnan, and it is hard to say whether it once prevailed in all other places. Since most primitive societies still retain this type of social system, we assume--but do not venture to assert categorically--that it was originally practiced in all Lolo societies but was later abandoned by some groups that came under Chinese influence. It is also possible that this system had always existed in some regions and not at all in others.

For a thorough study of the Lolo problem, "Heh-I" and "Wa-tzu" are two technical terms which must be understood. The former designates the nobility among the Lolo (called Sepo in the Lolo language). The word "Heh" /black/ has no special significance. (The complexion of the Heh-I is in fact somewhat darker than that of the Chinese, but the so-called "Wa-tzu" or "Pê-I" /Pê means white/ are not really fairer than the Heh-I.) "Wa-tzu" (meaning children)--probably a word borrowed from the Chinese--is used to designate the slaves, who are

also referred to as "Pê-I" by the Chinese. "Heh ku-t'o" /black bones/ and "Pê ku-t'o" /white bones/ are terms which are bestowed upon the Lolo by the Chinese and are never used among the I themselves. A misunderstanding is prevalent among some Chinese groups who think that the Pê-I or Wa-tzu are all Chinese captives or descendanrs of these captives. Still others make a further distinction, claiming that a newly captured Chinese is called Wa-tzu but is then raised to the status of Pê-I after his marriage with a female Chinese captive in the I region. It is actually quite unnecessary to make all these distinctions, for in appearance the Heh-I are tall and handsome with chests much broader than those of the Chinese, while the Wa-tzu are also strong and healthy but much smaller, indicating that besides the Chinese captives or their descendants, the majority of the Wa-tzu class includes perhaps another tribe which was conquered by the Heh-I in ancient times. The relationship between the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is somewhat similar to that between landlord and serf in tsarist times when hereditary class status could not be changed, and slaves could be bought and sold as chattels by the nobility. The Wa-tzu class /96/ resembles particularly the class of "mean people" or "untouchables" in India today. They differ from the nobility in racial characteristics as well as in social status.

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A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE LOLO OF THE LIANG-SHAN REGION

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In many of the southwestern areas where the Lolo tribes have lived with the Chinese, they have lost their original traits and have become sinified in respect to customs and habits. This assimilation--found in most of Yünnan province, which has the greatest concentration of the Lolo--is not at all strange since the culture of the Chinese has always been much higher. For a study of the customs and civilization of the Lolo, it is best to go to the Ning districts and Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. Of these, Liang-shan, which has always been closed to outside influences, is the ideal region for research. Of course with the passing of thousands of years the Lolo here have also been somewhat influenced by the Chinese, but this influence is slight compared with that in other places. From the ethnographic point of view, one may say that there is not a single pure race in China. Even the Miao and Yao tribes living in the secluded mountain areas of various southwestern provinces are considerably mixed. The only relatively pure race is to be found in

177 Liang-shan. For this reason it is necessary for us to make a field study there. Such a study would be of particular interest to ethnographers, linguists and sociologists.

186 In Liang-shan one often finds mixtures of the original Wa-tzu (one type of I) and Chinese captives who have been forced to become Wa-tzu and thereafter have no way of escape. The distinct separation of the Wa-tzu and the Heh-I, who try very hard to maintain their purity, is handed down throughout the ages and cannot be overcome. [582] [834] There is no intermarriage between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu. Should a Heh-I man rape a woman of the Wa-tzu class, it is considered an intolerable disgrace to the race. It is an even greater crime for a woman of the Heh-I class to have sexual intercourse with a male Wa-tzu, and the punishment for both guilty parties would be death. Such practices remind one of Germany under Hitler's rule. The reasons for the Heh-I's attempt to preserve /97/ racial purity and their practices in this respect are exactly the same as those of the Nazis. The boastful Heh-I likewise consider themselves the most accomplished race as well as the warrior class, and look upon the Chinese and other racial groups with contempt. 565 In Liang-shan society the relationship of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is based on co-operation and the division of labor into three /sic/ categories the upper class Heh-I do not concern themselves with production but engage only in warfare and governing, thus forming a sort of warrior or ruling class; the Wa-tzu are the producers or agricultural labor class. This is almost exactly the same as Nazi Germany's national philosophy (stressing "Deutschland über alles" and intent on reducing the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, etc., to the status of laborers controlled by the Germans). It is possible to see from this that the prevalent Nazi theories are about to lead the world back to the Lolo stage.

177 131 [18] The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan province and those in the Ning districts of Yueh-sui, Mien-ning, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, etc. have been very much sinified, and are known as "Shou-I." /sinified Lolo/. The fiercest and most overbearing of the I are concentrated in the Liang-shan region, in which Chao-chüeh and Lei-po have the most ruthless and complex branches, and Ma-pien and Ô-pien, by comparison, the gentlest and simplest. All the I areas in Lei-po hsien are part of the Hsiao Liang-shan region and are inhabited mostly by the Wa-tzu attached to the Heh-I of Ta Liang-shan. These Wa-tzu, although disposed to plunder, are not so fierce and haughty as their masters. The main region occupied by the so-called Sheng-I or Yen-I (those who have been very little sinified as compared with the Shou-I)

Apart from the t'ien p'u-sa, the rest of the head is shaved; sometimes, 302
not the entire head, but only the bottom edge is shaved, leaving some short hair encircling the t'ien p'u-sa to give the effect of a sleeping cap. This is another of the peculiar Lolo traits. The women part their hair from the middle and wear it in two long braids to coil above the head. Neither men nor women will ever go out without the pointed, wide rimmed rain-hat, worn on the head or slung on the back. With 301
regard to ornaments, all the Lolo like to wear jewelry. The men have their left ear pierced while the women pierce both. Ear ornaments are generally made of beeswax pearls, but those for the rich I are made of silver as well as corals and agates. The rich women also wear ear-rings, or at least some sort of expensive jewels. The very poor are sometimes content to wear merely a piece of black thread or a bamboo stick through the left ear lobe. Many of the women and some Heh-I men too wear silver bracelets and rings on their wrists and fingers. All of this indicates the Lolo's concern for beauty.

/109/ THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF

THE LOLO OF LIANG-SHAN

Previously, mention has already been made of the political and 565
social organizations of the Lolo of Liang-shan. The most prominent feature of their social organization is the insurmountability of the class barrier between the Heh-I and Wa-tzu. Almost nowhere else in the world is found so inflexible a class system as theirs. As stated above, this class distinction is limited not only to the prohibition of marriage and sexual relationship between the two groups; it is also said that in Liang-shan the Heh-I consider themselves so superior to the Wa-tzu that they would not even be involved in a quarrel with the latter. It would soil their hands and lower their dignity to strike the Wa-tzu. Should a master wish to punish a Wa-tzu of his own household, he would order another Wa-tzu to inflict the penalty. Should a Wa-tzu by chance hit a Heh-I, society would regard this offence to dignity and higher rank such a serious crime that it would request the removal of the offender's hand.

As a superior group, the Heh-I treat the Wa-tzu with much contempt. Under this circumstance, why the latter have never rebelled is a question worthy of examination by sociologists. Upon analysis, their reasons may be as follows: First, the Wa-tzu class having always

565 been hereditary, its members are slaves by birth, so that the idea of slavery has been inculcated in them from childhood and it is not easy, as a rule, to break away from social traditions. Secondly, as their culture is very low and their education not much to speak of, the Wa-tzu have therefore never had the means of cultivating the idea of independence and liberty, and they cannot even dream of joining together for a class struggle. Thirdly, although there is no equality whatever in the social positions of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu and this class distinction can never be overcome, nevertheless, in respect to their economic situation and the simple pleasures of life which they enjoy, the Wa-tzu are accorded much more equitable treatment than that accorded the lower classes in other societies. These conditions that contain elements of socialism are actually an important factor in preserving the unequal class system in the I region of Liang-shan, and the chief reason for which the Wa-tzu have never rebelled. The greatest need of the common people in any society is a stable life in which there is safety and protection. More concretely, although the Heh-I consider themselves most superior, they really do not get much more enjoyment out of life than the Wa-tzu: e.g., should a Heh-I invite his Wa-tzu to dine with him at home, the master-slave relationship is of course very clearly defined--the Wa-tzu do not sit at the same table as their master, but dine with the other Wa-tzu. But, regardless of the master and slave status, /110/ the food served is the same for all. This practice differs from that in other places and constitutes an equality greatly enjoyed by the Wa-tzu. A Heh-I family usually leads [527] a very frugal life. Occasionally, however, when a reception is prepared for honored guests (e.g. Chinese officials) or for relatives and friends at a wedding or funeral, the master would summon all his Wa-tzu to enjoy and share the feast with him. From the economic point of view, a Wa-tzu can buy the land which he cultivates himself and need not pay land tax to the Heh-I. His main obligation to his [465] master is to till the latter's field for a certain number of days each [431] year without pay. In addition there are some set customs of presenting gifts for weddings and on New Year's and other occasions, all of which are common expressions of goodwill and not a burden to the farmers. Except for the fact that class inequality can never be surmounted, the relationship of the Wa-tzu and their Heh-I master is [421] similar to that of the tenant and landlord among the Chinese. The Lolo "tenants," however, do not have to pay rent or tax to the government and need only contribute free service to their master. Should

the Chinese regions adopt the social system of the Lolo, no doubt many farmers would gladly occupy the position of the Wa-tzu. Needless to say, this freedom is not enjoyed by the small number of Wa-tzu serving in the homes of their master on a long term basis, but the majority of them receive special favors. They are still able to till their own fields during the day and return only at sunset to cook and do odd jobs for their master, with whom they live and board. On the other hand, although the Heh-I do not concern themselves with production and can have the Wa-tzu till their land and attend to their affairs, they are responsible for the defense of the territory and the protection of the Wa-tzu under their control. Should someone abuse their Wa-tzu, it would be regarded as an insult to themselves, and they would enter into a fierce combat even at the cost of their own life and property. As stated above, the relationship between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu is like that of the warrior and the producer classes: the latter produces to provide a livelihood for the entire society, while the former engages in warfare with outsiders to protect the safety of the entire group, so that their territory and property will not be attacked by others. The Heh-I are less numerous and must therefore increase their strength in times of war by mobilizing some or all of the Wa-tzu; they should assume, however, the responsibility of mapping out strategy and leading the groups in battles. Moreover, in fierce encounters the Heh-I in command would often disregard their own safety and show bravery by fighting at the head of the troops. This is another important reason why the Wa-tzu are so content and obedient, and willing to be loyal slaves to their Heh-I masters. 565

/111/ Another indication of a primitive socialism in the Liang-shan society is a communal sharing on the economic level among the I of the same branch (e.g., those of Mo-shih chia). It is possible for a Heh-I to receive free lodging and food as a long-term guest at the house of another Heh-I of the same branch, and with the consent of his host, he can then move on to another house and live in a similar manner. These occurrences are, however, very rare for the I of Liang-shan are diligent and frugal and prefer to live by their own efforts. The system is nevertheless helpful when they are traveling. The relationship is naturally more distant between the I of different branches; yet unless they are enemies, they can always share the other's food at least on a short-term basis. It is only when the Chinese are passing through that custom demands a certain amount of remuneration for food and lodging. 574

565 The Heh-I have absolute power over the Wa-tzu under their control, and can even have them killed in moments of joy or anger. The Wa-tzu, on the other hand, obey their masters without the slightest rebellion. They are made to understand the difference in class status and to observe special respect for the Heh-I of other families. Should a Heh-I disapprove of a Wa-tzu of another household, he would deem it beneath his dignity to negotiate, but would either order his own Wa-tzu to do the quarreling or would protest directly to the master of the offender. The Wa-tzu are, in a certain sense, their master's chattel and can be bought, sold, or given away at his pleasure. In this respect they resemble the serfs of tsarist Russia with the exception that the latter were attached to the land belonging to the landlord and were always transferred with it. A Wa-tzu, however, possesses his own land and even though he may be sold or given away by his master, he remains owner of the land and neither of the Heh-I masters has a right to enjoy its products. (The land tilled by a Wa-tzu is of course given to him by his master for long term cultivation, and its ultimate ownership is therefore transferred with him to the new master. The fact that the Wa-tzu need not pay rent to his master for the land he tills constitutes the main difference between the situation here and that prevailing elsewhere.) At the same time there are many Wa-tzu (most of them recently captured) who have no land whatever and can only remain in the house of their master as attendants. This type of Wa-tzu is sold like an ordinary slave: the buyer gets the Wa-tzu, and the seller the payment. Apart from sales, the transfer of Wa-tzu occurs chiefly at marriages when they are given away as a part of the dowry of a Heh-I's daughter.

/112/ The preceding statements concerning the sale and giving away of the Wa-tzu and their death at the master's hands are the worst aspects of the Wa-tzu system. A brighter aspect is that most masters care for the Wa-tzu under their control and often give them some of their own possessions. The Wa-tzu are always required to make gifts at weddings or funerals, but if a Wa-tzu cannot afford the customary expenses on these important occasions, his master is bound to assist him or even assume the entire financial responsibility. In this respect the master's care resembles that given to slaves in other feudal societies.

The Wa-tzu system in the I region of Liang-shan is no doubt a remnant of the outmoded feudal system and should really be eradicated. But despite its many bad points, it too has some advantages,

which account partly for its persistence up to the present time. Recently many people have advocated liberating the Pê-I (Wa-tzu) or inciting them to revolt against the Heh-I, but they do not know that the majority of the Wa-tzu are quite content with their lot and do not desire change. (The Chinese captives reduced to the status of Wa-tzu are of course an exception.) Not only is it impossible to incite the Wa-tzu to revolt; it is even difficult to persuade them to escape from the I region and the Heh-I's rule. Naturally they are not to be blamed, for although they are slaves under the present system, at least their livelihood is not a problem. But if they should escape into unsympathetic societies where no one would have concern for them, they will immediately face the difficult problem of food and survival. To speak of liberty with an empty stomach is never easy. In order to rehabilitate the I region successfully, it is necessary to devise a suitable economic and social system to replace the present Wa-tzu system. Empty talk will not only fail to ameliorate the living conditions of the I people but might even increase their sufferings. 565

There are also distinctions of rank among the Wa-tzu of Liang-shan. The talented and capable Wa-tzu, or those who have been closely connected with the master's family for generations, are likely to be promoted by their Heh-I masters to household management. These are called "tang-chia /steward/ Wa-tzu." In each family, there is one of them who holds a higher position than the rest and may be considered as their leader. He usually lives in his master's house. If his duties include the preparation of meals and cooking, then he is called "kuo-chuang Wa-tzu." When the responsibilities of management and cooking are divided between two persons, the position of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu is lower than that of the tang-chia Wa-tzu, but /113/ higher than that of the ordinary Wa-tzu, for he is still regarded as one trusted by the master. Due to their higher intelligence, the Chinese captives are often promoted to tang-chia Wa-tzu or kuo-chuang Wa-tzu in a few years. The Heh-I's Wa-tzu (the so-called "Pê-I) often attempt to capture some Chinese as their own Wa-tzu. These Wa-tzu's Wa-tzu naturally hold a still lower position and are therefore called "san-t'an Wa-tzu," meaning a third class Wa-tzu. 555 565

The wealth of a Heh-I is generally determined by the number of Wa-tzu under his control. He can have as many as three or four hundred at a time. Naturally in the Lolo society where civilization is still in an extraordinarily primitive stage, land development and an increase in food production are mainly dependent on human labor. 556 567

565 This accounts for the perpetual need of additional Wa-tzu by the I of
567 Liang-shan. For hundreds of years, there has always been in this region a hereditary Wa-tzu class. But since its population has remained sparse and the fertility of its soil is low, the only method of increasing the number of Wa-tzu is to capture men and women of other racial groups. In this case all the captives happen to be Chinese, who are the only people living in the surrounding areas. This practice of the I is still being perpetuated today in full force. Some state that the total number of Chinese captives has already reached several tens of thousands (although this figure may be highly exaggerated) and that a considerable number are still being captured at the present time. According to their distribution by the hsien, the largest number of captives are taken from Lei-po, and next from Yung-shan in Yünnan province, captives are also taken from Ma-pien, O-pien, Yüeh-sui, Hsi-ch'ang and others. The general practice of the I is first to separate the captives of the same family or village and to dispatch them to different districts to prevent their joining forces and escaping together. The captor is their first master who may then sell his newly acquired Wa-tzu for silver. After these Wa-tzu have been carried around and sold repeatedly--sometimes throughout the entire region of Liang-shan, having been captured at Lei-po and ending up in Hsi-ch'ang--there would be no means of escape. The family may attempt through a middleman to ransom a captive if it knows his or her whereabouts. In these transactions the I's only concern is silver, and the ransom exacted is always dozens of times higher than the market price at Liang-shan.

584 Strange to say, features of both the Orient and the Occident
591 may be found in the Liang-shan society. As in the West, a son, after his marriage, establishes his own family apart from his parents; as in the East, the family organization is patriarchal, and the parents who are despotic select mates for their sons and daughters. This selection is based on the principle of a suitable alliance in respect to property and wealth--a form of commercial marriage, /114/ typical of an Oriental society. The bride's family usually demands a large settlement in proportion to her own family's wealth. Therefore when an I takes a bride he may be obliged to spend his entire savings and even to go into debt his entire life. For this reason many people cannot
587 marry at all. One of the results is the development of the system of "wife transference" whereby "a younger brother marries his sister-in-law at the death of his elder brother." Although this practice seems